

# The Polish Review





## SWIRSKI TELLS POLISH NAVY'S GREAT RECORD

Poland now has a navy consisting of one cruiser, seven destroyers, three submarines, and three motor torpedo boats. Three destroyers, two submarines and several auxiliary vessels have been lost in action since the outbreak of the war. At the end of June, 1943, after almost four years of ceaseless offensive action, Polish ships had sailed about 700,000 sea miles in convoys, patrols, escorts and various naval actions involving bombardment and took part in 600 escorts, 450 patrols, 130 submarine engagements, 25 surface engagements, 24 engagements with coastal artillery, and repulsed 200 enemy air attacks.

So distinguished have been the services of the Polish Navy that of all decorations awarded to the eight small Allied navies, the Polish personnel were awarded by far the largest share of British decorations. Actually Poles won 11 Distinguished Service Orders, 11 Distinguished Service Crosses, 16 Distinguished Service Medals, 5 mentions in dispatches. Furthermore, 27 Virtuti Militaris, 850 Gallantry Crosses, 18 Merit Crosses. Admiral Swirski, who holds the British KCB has been Chief of the Polish Navy since 1925, in a recent interview he said:

"It is customary to call the Polish Navy small and young. This is a courteous compliment to her fighting efficiency when faced with overwhelming enemy superiority. While the Polish Navy is only a flotilla of light units compared with the mighty fleets of Britain and the United States, in the Baltic the Polish navy was fourth in size to Germany, Russia and Sweden. Her naval strength exceeded that of Denmark's, Finland's, Estonia's and Latvia's. But the Polish Navy is not as young as might appear, for Poles sailed the high seas as early as the Xth Century, while in the XVIth and XVIIth Centuries the Polish Royal Navy fought a number of battles against the long established Swedish Navy, winning a decisive victory at Oliva in 1627."

Making Danzig a free city helped the Germans to use that ancient Polish port as the centre of the German agitation and aggression against eastern and central Europe. Poland was forced to construct her own ports at Gdynia, Hel and Wladyslawowo, at a tremendous outlay of money and effort.

Gdynia with a 15-mile coastline became the first Baltic port eight years after being opened to sea traffic in 1927. By 1938 more than ten million tons of sea traffic had been handled there and the figure

## Four-Party Pact For Polish Unity

The four parties which compose the Polish Government, the Polish Peasant Party, the Polish Socialist Party, Nationalist Party and Christian Democratic Labor Party, represent the main political trends and the majority of politically organized Poles. Their representatives in underground Poland recently signed an agreement to cooperate until a constitutional legislative body can be restored by democratic elections.

This agreement arranges for cooperation in Poland under a Council on National Unity which it has been decided to create in full accord with the representatives of the Polish Government in Poland. An appeal is made to the representatives of the four parties in London to maintain equally close cooperation in both the National Council and the Government. In supporting the Government in London and in bearing responsibility for it the parties in question oppose—as long as the agreement shall last—any other conception of the government. The parties to the agreement decide to support with all their resources the Polish underground forces as the National army whose role will be decisive in the armed struggle for Poland's future. Unanimously the four parties adopted the following program:

**War aims:** The basic principle for foreign policy to be cooperation with the Allies on a basis of strict equality with emphasis on the sovereign independence of Poland, her rights and the integrity of her territory. The danger of communist and totalitarian ideas should be constantly held before the eyes of the Allied nations.

**Peace aims:** To obtain Western and Northern frontiers that would give Poland a wide access to the sea and guarantee absolute security, and to maintain her eastern frontiers. To form a federation of states, the nucleus of which would be the Polish-Czech Union. To regulate national minorities on basis of traditional freedom and equality of rights and obligations. As to domestic affairs, the agreement provides that the existing government of national unity shall not be changed without the consent of the four parties.

The agreement recommends the reconstruction of Poland on following principles:

(1) Full Political freedom based on equality of rights and obligation. Widest adoption of the principle of self-government in building the future of the Polish state. (2) Human labor to be recognized as the most valuable element on which the country's economic development and prosperity are to be founded. (3) Immediate introduction of agrarian reforms assuring such distribution of land as will secure maximum number of sound one-family farms, so as to guarantee the food supply of the whole nation. (4) Establishment, within the framework of planned economy, of cooperative and self-governing bodies in production and distribution, especially of food. (5) Elimination of unemployment in town and country on the principle of providing employment for everybody. This will also apply to those who will be repatriated to Poland from their deportation in Germany or Russia.

## MAJ. CAZALET'S SUCCESSOR NAMED

Wing Commander Norman Hulbert, Conservative Member of Parliament for Stockport, has been appointed British Liaison Officer for Polish forces in Great Britain, succeeding Major Czalet who perished with Gen. Sikorski.

Wing Commander Hulbert was a squadron leader before the war

and in the House of Commons has shown his interest in the Air Force mainly in questions concerning air war. To keep in touch with the civilian and postwar aspect of his new duties, he will almost become Honorary Secretary of the British Committee for Polish Welfare under the chairmanship of Colonel Harold Mitchel, M. P.

was growing at the outbreak of the war. Polish merchant Marine was growing steadily, having reached 130,000 tons just before the war. The freight sent to the British Empire was second only to the tonnage exported to Scandinavia.

By 1937 Gdynia outdistanced the shipping traffic of Copenhagen, Stockholm, Riga, Leningrad, Koenigsberg, Stettin, and it was still climbing when Germany invaded Poland. Since then the Gdynia dockyards have been used for U-boat construction, and training of U-boat crews.

Poland's naval chiefs with an

eye to the future have planned a larger and stronger navy for the Polish nation. They are loathe to repeat the errors committed after the last war when economic conditions forced the Polish Government to devote development funds exclusively to schools, hospitals, homes, roads, railways and other institutions connected with social and cultural improvement programs. The Polish people desired peace above everything. It wanted its national resources to be concentrated on rehabilitation work after the devastation of six years of war, rather than on naval construction.

## UNDERGROUND ON RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA

Polish underground comments on the "Izvestia" article, published on the eve of the Moscow conference, emphasizes the importance of strengthening United Nations' solidarity and unity, speeding up Germany's defeat and post-war reconstruction. Polish public opinion regards these problems as of extreme importance. Poland has proved from the very beginning her sincere desire to maintain friendly relations with Russia. The entire country is wholeheartedly in favor of the government's efforts in this direction.

The underground is very indignant that some circles attempt to sow distrust among Poland and Russia by accusing Poland of backing Hitler against Russia. That is utterly false. Poland was the first to fight Germany and will do so to the end. Polish armed forces and the people of Poland continue this fight. The Polish Navy and Merchant Marine escorted and transported arms and goods to Russia.

Poland never has produced a Quisling. Even the Germans have not dared to suggest that Poles form a Polish legion for fighting against Russia. Poland concluded an agreement with Russia in 1941, at a time when the Russian armies were retreating and the world did not expect that success would crown the Russian arms.

## NAZI REFUGEES NOW CLOG ROADS IN POMERANIA

Gdynia was bombed two weeks ago by American Flying Fortresses, which wrecked the harbor and demolished part of the city, and now a mass German exodus from Gdynia is reported.

Streams of people and vehicles are clogging the roads inland, creating almost indescribable confusion. As in the blitz days of 1939—only this time the Germans are the sufferers—women holding children by the hand are trudging along beside horsecarts and baby carriages filled with household and other possessions.

The German administration in Pomerania broke down completely in its efforts to provide housing and food for the Gdynia refugees. Its troubles have been further complicated by the continuing influx of evacuees from the Reich. Army deserters, and foreign workers imported into Germany, are mingling with the Germans tracking eastward into Poland, and the German authorities are apparently helpless to stop them.



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## FORCED MIGRATION OF POLES DURING THE WAR

by EUGENE M. KULISCHER\*

**M**ASS movements of Poles during the war have taken three forms: first, the flight of the Polish population before the German invasion in September, 1939; secondly, the expulsion of Poles from the western Polish provinces incorporated into the Reich, which took place mainly in 1939-1940; and thirdly, the transfer of the population of the eastern Polish provinces (Western Bialorus and the Western Ukraine) to the eastern areas of the Soviet Union, organized by the Soviet Government partly in 1939-1940 after occupying these territories, but mainly in the summer of 1941 on the eve of the German invasion.

In September, 1939, there was a mass flight of the Polish population before the rapid advance of the German army. The majority of these refugees remained in the territory occupied by Germany as a result of the Polish campaign. The influx to the capital, which kept up its resistance longer than the rest of the country, was especially large. The day after the German invasion began, the Associated Press reported that refugees from western Poland and the Polish Corridor were crowding into Warsaw, and this movement continued throughout the German advance. The increase in the population of Warsaw, estimated a few months later at about 300,000 was attributed mainly to the influx of these refugees driven from their homes by war.

Such part of the Polish army as left Polish territory retreated mainly to Rumania and Hungary, where it was interned. Nevertheless, tens of thousands of Polish soldiers, after overcoming all kinds of difficulties, found their way to France. A number of civilians also went to Rumania and Hungary, mostly politicians, officials and Jews. At the end of 1939 the number of Polish civilian refugees in Rumania was about 17,000, many having already managed to leave the country, and in Hungary 15,000. In 1940-1941 the departures continued, while other Polish refugees were removed from Rumania to Poland after Rumania had joined the Axis. At the end of 1942 the number of Polish refugees remaining was 9,000 in Hungary and 4,000 in Rumania. Three thousand of those who had left Rumania and Hungary found themselves in Italy and others in the Balkan States. However, the great majority reached France (in May, 1940, there were 25,000,



Ousted by the Germans.

By E. Kanarek

some of whom escaped to England and America; on November 1, 1942, in the then unoccupied zone there were 11,000, 800 others being in Algeria), England where there were 5,000 civilians at the end of 1942, Switzerland (2,000), and Palestine (over 5,000).

Many of the refugees from Poland sought refuge in Lithuania, including the Wilno region, which had been part of Poland but which the Soviet Union had since occupied and handed over to Lithuania. According to official Lithuanian sources, the influx from Poland consisted of about 14,000 members of the Polish army who were interned by the Lithuanian authorities, and 75,000 to 80,000 civilian refugees, of whom all but 10,000 were Jews. Another reliable source gives the figure for civilian refugees as only 30,000, which seems consistent with the figure of 15,000 Jewish refugees given by the *American Jewish Year Book*. There were also 2,000 Polish refugees in Latvia. Of all the Polish refugees in the Baltic countries, some 2,000 succeeded in crossing Siberia and going to America, while nearly the same number landed in Japan and Shanghai (which had 950 Polish refugees when it was occupied by the Japanese). Many others were among those who were transferred from the Baltic States to the eastern part of the Soviet Union in June, 1941.

After the collapse of Poland and the partition of Polish territory into a German and a Soviet sphere of interest, some

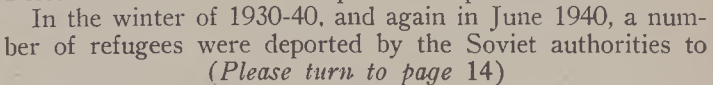
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\* From "The Displacement of Population in Europe" by Eugene M. Kulischer. Published by the International Labour Office, Montreal, Canada, 1943.



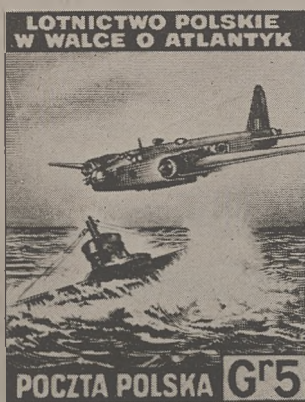
The purging of the Incorporated Provinces of their non-German inhabitants was indeed carried out “without mercy” and with great harshness. The *Polish White Book* gives the

A German report published in October 1941 gives details of the Polish and Jewish property confiscated by the German authorities and handed over to an official trustee. This comprised, in Poznan, 17,300 handicraft workshops, 17,200 com-





# NEW SERIES OF POLAND'S WAR STAMPS



**F**IRST ROW: The 5 grosze stamp shows a Wellington bomber of the Polish coastal command squadron attacking a German U-boat. The 10 grosze stamp illustrates ships of the Polish Merchant Marine steaming in convoy. Two Polish sailors are seen training their Lewis machine gun on a German bomber attacking the convoy. The 25 grosze stamp commemorates the fight put up by the Polish troops in the Battle of France.

**SECOND ROW:** The 55 grosze stamp depicts the part played by Polish forces in the Battle of Norway. It shows two Polish soldiers perched on a rock above the Narvik Fjord. The 75 grosze stamp brings memories of the Middle East. It shows four soldiers of the Polish Carpathian Brigade exchanging greetings with the Commander of a passing British tank. The Carpathian Brigade distinguished itself in the defense of Tobruk in 1941. The 1 zloty stamp shows Polish patriots destroying a railway track running through a forest in an outlying district of Poland. Two men are loosening the rails, while the third is keeping watch with a revolver in his hand.

**THIRD ROW:** The 80 grosze stamp represents the last visit of the late General Sikorski to Polish forces in the Middle East. The General is seen talking to Polish soldiers in tropical kit. It is one of his last pictures taken shortly before he met his untimely death in Gibraltar. The 1 and a half zloty stamp portrays the printing "Department" of a Polish underground paper in an attic. The name of the paper is "Rzeczpospolita Polska" (the Polish Republic). Its circulation is said to run to 20,000 and it has had as many as four editions a day.



# From the Annals of Education in Eastern Poland

**D**URING the 123 years during which Poland was deprived of independence, her Eastern provinces produced countless men and women who by pen or sword reminded the world that she was not yet dead. Kosciuszko, Mickiewicz, Slowacki, Fredro, Plater, Sienkiewicz, Paderewski, Pilsudski, Conrad are but a few in the long list of Poles who came from Eastern Poland and helped Polish culture to weather the long eclipse of the partitions.

Poles have always felt a special and deep attachment to their picturesque East that for four hundred years formed an integral part of Poland, and for more than six hundred years bore the stamp of Polish civilization. This part of the country has suffered perhaps more than any other from invasion and attack. Throughout most of the 17th and 18th centuries these regions were subjected to one invasion after another. The Tartars, to quote a contemporary historian, looked in on them "the way dogs do into the kitchen." Cossack wars, Swedish aggression and Muscovite assaults wrought havoc with this once rich section of the country. Not a single school in Podolia, Volhynia or the Ukraine but was compelled to close its doors for a period of several years at a time. At times they remained closed for ten years, at times forever. As wars raged on year after year, the cities declined and the country gentry grew impoverished. And yet, the interest in learning was so great, the realization that the young people must not be denied an education was so strong, that even in these "unsettled" times, schools were founded and endowed by local magnates and given the protection of the Polish government.

These institutions of learning in the Southeast reflected the religious beliefs of their founders. Thus, Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant schools worked side by side at a time when Europe was in the throes of religious war and when nearly every country imposed a State religion on its citizens.

One of the most important centers of intellectual life in Volhynia at the turn of the 16th century was Ostrog Wolynski. In the latter half of the 16th century Prince Konstanty Ostrogski, a Hetman who belonged to the Orthodox Church, founded a printshop in Ostrog. He brought a famous typographer, Ivan Fedorovich, from Lwow to manage the printshop and undertook the printing of Orthodox hymnals, prayer books and liturgical works on an impressive scale. An outstanding achievement of the printery was the publication in 1581 of the well-known Slav *Bible* and in 1594 of the *Homilies of St. Basil*. When working on the Bible, Ostrogski spared no pains to see that the text was correct in every respect, and to ensure this accuracy gathered a number of scholars and writers at Ostrog. Polemical literature was also printed at Ostrog. The dispute growing out of the introduction of the Gregorian calendar gave rise to pamphlets for and against the reform.

Out of the atmosphere of research on the Slav *Bible* grew the Ostrog Academy, a Greek Slavonic school of liberal arts. In his efforts to make this school as efficient as possible, Ostrogski brought Greek scholars to Ostrog, and organized an association of scholars and writers at the printshop and Academy. In the 17th century the school declined in importance, and later was taken over by the Jesuits. It was not the only Latin school in Ostrog, for already in 1582 Ostrogski had founded one there following the restoration of the Latin church.

When unitarianism spread to Volhynia late in the 16th century, various non-conformist schools came into being. The Socinian higher institution at Kisielin flourished as a center of studies in Socinian theology. The cities of Beresk, Hoszcza, Choroszw, Beresteczek, Paniowce all established schools teaching the principles of Arianism.

A powerful force for spreading culture and education throughout southeastern Poland were the so-called *Brother-*



PRINCE KONSTANTY OSTROGSKI  
16th cent. patron of culture and the arts in Volhynia.

hoods, religious-social associations, who founded and equipped Catholic schools. In Luck the *Brotherhood of the Elevation of the Holy Cross* founded a school in 1617 that received a charter from King Zygmunt III in 1619. Similar schools existed in Mohilow, Kamieniec Podolski, Winnica and Kiev, when these cities were still part of Poland.

The beginning of the 17th century saw Eastern Poland covered with a network of Jesuit Academies. In Podolia the most important were at Bar and Kamieniec Podolski; in Volhynia at Krzemieniec, Luck and Ostrog.

The Bar Academy dates from 1616, when Hetman Stanislaw Zolkiewski invited the Jesuits to Bar, bought them a residence, created a foundation for them and gave them grounds for a school. Others added their efforts to his and the Crown Hetman Stanislaw Koniecpolski contributed a large sum of money toward the Academy.

Jan Prochnicki, who later became Archbishop of Lwow, founded a Jesuit school at Kamieniec Podolski in 1610. Here too, the local gentry contributed generously in lands, money and books. They voluntarily imposed a school tax on themselves and instructed their representatives in the Polish Parliament to secure sanction for the tax.

The Krzemieniec Academy, which a century later became the famous Krzemieniec Lyceum, with a progressive curriculum unique in those days, was founded in 1712 by the

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# KLUKOWSKI: ANIMAL SCULPTOR



Black granite.  
By Jozef Klukowski

WHEN Jozef Klukowski was asked to give his views on sculpture, his opening words were: "If we remove superfluous substance from a given mass, we shall then have a certain shape that will be a sculpture." This statement is a true reflection of Klukowski's approach to his own work, characterized by dynamic quality.

Born in 1894, Klukowski was an officer in the Polish Army, who expressed his artistic inclinations in painting horses. In 1928 he left the Army and took up sculpture in various materials. He



Gray granite.

By Jozef Klukowski

studied in Paris under André Lothe, and his interest in dynamic sculpture, led him to concentrate on sport figures in bas-relief, for which he was awarded a first prize at the Tenth Olympic Games in Los Angeles in 1932; and on animal sculpture, which gave him an opportunity to express the latent or active vitality of his subjects. Klukowski's ani-

mals have the same breath of life that marked the sculpture of the best epochs, and his ability to catch and render movement classes his work with the great grotto drawings of Altamira.

In Klukowski's bas-reliefs of games the striking features are first-rate composition and the excellent interpretation of movement and energy, not treated along naturalist lines but synthesized. His multiplane composition is so well constructed and his figures are so devoid of static tendencies that it is easy to see why he won the Olympic prize. Klukowski's fondness for decorative composition is especially evident in his applied art creations, where, despite marked stylization, for instance in his zodiac capricorns, the lifelike qualities of the beasts are retained. The decorative treatment of hair on his human heads and the monumental treatment of their facial features are reminiscent of archaic Greek sculpture, where the muscles are equally simplified but equally true to life.

Each of Klukowski's animals is a type unto itself. Even when the artist contents himself with slight indentations in the stone to outline the shape, he achieves the desired result. Also he had a way of always choosing the right material to suit a given subject. Thus, when he sculptured a wild boar, he selected a rough gray-black granite, the texture of which harmonized with the coarse bristles of the animal. Similarly, he used grooves in highly polished malachite to produce the fluid line of a monkey's coat.

Working like the sculptors of old who scorned to model their creations, preferring to wrest them from stone or marble with their own hands, Klukowski has done his bit to restore the fine and ancient art of carving in difficult materials. He takes pains to select the most durable, but at the same time the most noble materials and always emerges victorious from his struggle with matter. Klukowski's attitude toward metal is no different. He is fully aware of the inferiority of metals violated by fire and poured into a mold, as compared to the cold, hard metal which submits only after a protracted struggle and can be vengeful when an unskilled hand torments it too much.

Americans saw a sample of the force and monumental simplicity of Klukowski's work when his large bas-relief, "First Polish Immigrants in America," was displayed at the Polish Pavilion at



Granite.

By Jozef Klukowski



Marble.

By Jozef Klukowski



Malachite.

By Jozef Klukowski

the New York World's Fair in 1939-1940.

Jozef Klukowski belonged to that group of young sculptors who reflected modern art trends in their work. Sculptors like Alfons Karny, Jadwiga Horodyska, Stanislaw Komaszewski, Ludwika Kraskowska, Franciszek Masiak, Kazimierz Pietkiewicz, Karol Tchorek, Bazyli Wojtowicz, who were educated in the art schools of a free Poland, and who exhibited their work abroad, strove for perfection of form and the mastery of difficult technical problems.

This new generation of Polish artists, like the new generation of Poles, was characterized by the desire to experience deeply all that life has to offer. Thus, all they did was filled with a certain *joie de vivre*, and their works pulsed with deep psychological meaning. The German aggression has put an end to Polish art schools, academies, scholarships and exhibitions. But this dark period in Polish art is but a passing tragedy.



# CAPITAL OF POLISH PETROLEUM

THE capital of the Polish petroleum region is Boryslaw. It is a town of a character not to be found anywhere else. Boryslaw is a combination of Warsaw and a decrepit little town in Polesia. It is a combination of American modernity and century-old backwardness. It has been truly said that Boryslaw is a city of contrasts. Being, in the matter of size, one of the largest towns in Poland after Warsaw, it does not possess the character of a city. Wherever one looks is forest of derricks. Thickly spread over the broad valley, they ramble over the steep corn, lifting themselves towards the Carpathians, sharply outlined against the summits of the mountains and the quiet stretch of forest lying before them. Boryslaw at night is an unforgettable phenomenon. It is one blaze of light as far as the eye can see, and without pause, without rest, the sound of work comes from this blaze, work whose aim is black fluid gold. Oil.

The development of Boryslaw dates from the beginning of the XIXth Century, when in the woods on the Tysmienica River the country-people were employed in the making of lubricants from rock-oil found in the neighborhood. It appeared on the sand-banks and was also procured with the help of wells, from which it came up mixed with water. With the aim of condensing the oil which was everywhere found in the water the peasants beat the surface of the water with sticks. Then they collected the oil, condensed on the surface, into buckers. It was a commercial product which was taken to the nearby town of Drohobycz to sell.

In 1850-54 Ignacy Lukasiewicz, the inventor of the oil lamp, undertook the distilling of the oil. The invention of the lamp, for a long time did not reach the outside world from the Austrian partitioned state. Meanwhile the General Hospital in Lwow was lit by Lukasiewicz's lamp.

The first deep boring for oil was begun in Boryslaw in 1893. From that Boryslaw quickly developed, attaining the summit of its greatness in 1909, when it held the third place in the world for production, giving more than 2,000,000 tons of oil per annum.

The production of oil in Boryslaw is connected with the geological construction of the land. The oil-giving geological strata were formed in that far-off epoch when the chain of Carpathian mountains was taking its present shape. The petroliferous layer consists of porous sandstone, saturated with particles of oil and gases and hidden in the depths of more recent geological layers. This layer of oil is under the whole of Boryslaw. Its depth varies. Sometimes it is at a depth of 700-800 metres, at others it is as far as 2,000 metres.

In order to obtain the oil it is necessary to bore down to these layers. At Boryslaw, on an area of 15 square kilometres, there are about 1,300 borings of which about 700 were working before the war. They produced about 23,000,000 tons of oil which was 70% of the entire production in Poland. Some of the borings were at first extremely productive. Often several dozen wagon-loads per day were extracted from one and these were oils which produced themselves. Before the war Boryslaw produced 800 tons of oil per day, which was about 60% of the petroleum production of Poland.



Filling railroad tanks in Drohobycz.

Closely connected with the petroleum industry is that of gasoline. Gasoline mixed with petrol can be used for internal combustion engines. The production of gasoline in Poland in 1936 was 3,200 tons per month.

As well as oil and gasoline there is also ozokerite in Boryslaw. Its production was started at the end of the 18th Century. Then were dug shallow wells from which ozokerite was obtained in a primitive fashion. There were about 6,000 of these wells in the second half of the XIXth Century and about 10,000 workmen worked at them. After the mining system had been adopted and modern methods introduced about 200 men were employed. There was only one such mine at Boryslaw. Its production was 85 tons per month. Half of it was exported from Poland and served for the production of so-called "kerozene," a product used in electrotechnical productions, etc.

Eight miles from Boryslaw is Drohobycz, the chief centre of the refineries. The oil is taken through pipes straight to Drohobycz.

The considered opinions of expert and experienced geologists are all to the effect that Poland still has important undiscovered reserves of crude oil. The terrain to be examined is not confined to the Boryslaw basin but includes the Carpathian slopes which in all probability hide rich petroleum deposits.

An important source of fuel of the Polish petroleum region is natural gas, which is exploited at Daszawa, a place a little further east. The gas was directed by pipe-lines to Boryslaw and Drohobycz from Daszawa. The same gas was taken 42 miles to Lwow. In Poland attempts were made to take advantage of the natural gas to a very great extent. Plans were made to spread gas all over Poland by the use of gas pipe-lines, factories based on this cheap and high heat giving combustible material. But the war interrupted these and other plans.

It may be of interest to our readers to mention a few places in the Polish petroleum region. Six miles from Drohobycz is a potassium salt-mine of a sulphite type at Stebnik, which was the centre of the potassium industry in Poland. Trial borings have revealed that there are also a great num-



Oil fields in Boryslaw.

ber of potassium salts of a chlorine type as well as sulphite, layers of which were met with in many places in the lower Carpathians. The exploitation of these, like that of many other raw materials in Poland, did not reach maturity before the war. Stebnik itself produced about 80,000 tons per annum.

The best-known place in Poland for deep petroleum is not a factory city nor a mining-centre, but a charming health-resort, Truskawiec. It lies in a valley surrounded by wooded hills, which influence the mild climate and make both summer and winter particularly pleasant.

Truskawiec possesses many different kinds of water for drinking and bathing. The baths are of the salt, sulphur and mud-type varieties. Of the drinking waters the most im-

portant is "Naftusia" (from nafta-petrol) oxalate alkaline of an unique composition; it has a strong taste of petrol.

*On October 17, 1942, a big fire broke out in a large petrol refinery at Stroe. As the German managers intended to double the output, a new building had been erected, while the factory worked at high speed. The fire broke out at night simultaneously in the refinery and other buildings, and raged for 36 hours, destroying the main buildings, storehouses and offices. The Gestapo established that the fire was the result of sabotage and arrested sixty Poles. In keeping with the German policy of collective responsibility, every fifth arrested Pole was shot. Twelve men laid their lives down for Poland.*

*—From a report of the Polish Underground.*



# POLISH COMMANDOS READY FOR ATTACK

by MACIEJ DRZEWICA

IN the grey dawn a small boat steals silently into an inlet worn out of the rocky mountain. A machine gun gleams at its prow. Everything is quiet on the coast, as if asleep in the morning mist. The water churns in a soft whisper, the boat grates on the rocky beach, then silence again.

Suddenly a command falls: "Land!"

Stealthy figures slip into the shallow water. The boat is pulled in and hidden in a rock crevice. Nimbly the figures creep over the top and disappear. The bay is deserted again. No trace of boat or people. What took place just a minute ago may have been a hallucination.

On the other side, the same figures move in the soft shadow of early dawn. They have a wing, gun and anchor insignia sewn on their sleeves and above the word "Poland." They are the Polish Commando unit out on a "silent" manoeuvre.

The leader beckons them to follow pointing to a maze of crags and hollows. Three figures carrying hooks, chains and lines crawl up a bald wall, and the others follow with the help of the toggle ropes. Safeguarded by the rope they slide under ledges and crawl over jagged rocks. Guns and other equipment are pulled up the steep wall on rope trains. The beach lies far below. It is strewn with sharp stones. One false step, one slip . . . With intense effort and clenched jaws the athletic bodies bend ever upward.

"D . . ." a tommy gun is stuck in a jutting stone. Perched like a ballerina the soldier tries to dislodge it. Sweat pours down his flushed face. The leader looks down to see what is holding them back. The stubborn gun is finally sent on its way, and the Commandos continue up the incline till

they reach the top. A cool wind dries the drops of perspiration. They crouch low and descend to a gentle grassy slope. The climbing is all done now.

Far from the roads or human habitations the Commando snake slithers silently to its goal. They pass rocky cliffs, dreamy lakes, and shuffle through sharp mountain grass. The sun casts out its first rays over their heads. Weariness overcomes their tired feet. They are ordered to rest, and to spread through the big rocks. One can hardly distinguish rock from man. The first "operational" food rations are passed out. The meal is eaten in silence. A moment of complete relaxation. Some of them stretch out and gaze into the cloudy sky. Maciek launches on his experiences in the Near East, which he tells in whispers to his nearest companions. Two others exchange a word duel as to which is better: Brazil or the Argentine? The others just dream—about Poland, about their past and their future.

"All right boys, let's move on." They move carefully now as they begin to descend to the plain. Faces are covered with nets. For yards at a time they crawl over the plain and crouch behind bushes and high stalks of grain.

At dusk they finally reach a wooded height. Here they stop to catch their breath. Lookouts climb trees and through fieldglasses observe the traffic on the roads and streets of the city. The unsuspecting "enemy" soldiers are seen moving about. Plans and sketches are compared with the actual view. A final check up is made. All they have to do is wait for darkness to fall.

As night comes they divide into small groups. Still unnoticed they penetrate to the heart of the city, and reach the Headquarters Office. The building is surrounded, two Commandos slip into the building to steal the "enemy's" documents. Another group is slowly creeping up to the building of the Command. A guard appears around the corner. Trapped . . . No, not so easy! The intruder has not noticed them yet. He is only three feet away. They must not shoot! A swift decision. A Commando springs at the guard and clamps his fist on the guard's mouth. A dull thud of falling bodies is the only sound heard. The other Commandos gag and tie him up. They then clear up the evidence. Silence reigns again. Minutes creep like snails . . . a car passes on the road. The figures flatten against the wall, and shrink behind the shrubs as the headlights slash through the protective cover of darkness. Whew! a narrow escape.

Finally the signal is given. The mission has been accomplished. As carefully as before the Commandos withdraw. They climb high fences, creep under barbed wires and crawl over the bare spots.

The sky begins to brighten in the East. Time to retreat. This time they take a different route, trying to leave no trace the enemy could follow. At first they weave in and out of shrubs. Carefully they crawl around single houses and groups of buildings. They must not be seen by a single person. Their retreat is cut by a highway. Cars pass now and then. During a longer lull they make a dash for the other side. Everything O. K., that is, except the field telephone wire. The Signaller makes short shrift of that. In a twinkling the wire is cut.

After getting into the clear they move faster.



Poised for action.

The region becomes more deserted and therefore safer. Things run smoothly until they come upon a mountain creek. They must cross it. By now the enemy has undoubtedly discovered that the Commandos have been and gone with the prize. The best swimmer of the group ties the rope around his waist, and then slips into the swift current. For a moment he struggles with the strong flow of the water. It seems that he is being carried away, but he makes the other side and makes fast the rope. Each Commando ties a knot on the taut "bridge" and hand over hand shinnies to the other side landing in a parachute tumble. All cross safely. The line is cut.

Late that afternoon the Commandos gain the sea coast. They disappear into the bushes and wait for darkness. Some of them drop off into exhausted slumber. All of them are tired and justly so. But they are not out of danger yet. They must not relax their guard. After a while a motor is heard. It is a Mustang working with the Polish Commando unit. He is checking up whether they had made the appointed spot. The signaller cautiously move out from the underbrush. The identification sheet is spread out and folded again in a few seconds. The Mustang dips his wing. He has seen them. The men disappear into the bushes again. The landscape does not betray the presence of the Commandos.

Dusk descends slowly. When it is sufficiently dark they crawl out onto the beach. Their well-trained ears pick up the muffled sound of a motorboat. A starry flare goes up to indicate their position. The motor is silenced, the boat slips in like a ghost, and the watchword is exchanged. The leader signals that everything is all right. The scene unfolds as if by magic. Soundlessly the Commandos embark. Soundlessly the boat is launched. Soundlessly they slip out of the bay. Like phantoms they melt into the black night. The motor starts up slowly. The sound is sharp and metallic at first but it too dies away into an echo.

The waves lap the sands. Heel marks are erased by the tide. The smooth beach stretches in the dim moonlight. The Commandos have come and gone. Their silent mission was accomplished successfully.

\* \* \*

A coffee shop "somewhere in England" is filled with green Commando berets. Snatches of Polish, French, Norwegian, Danish and English come from all sides. At a corner table talking in low tones sit the heroes of the operation. No one has heard of their mission, no one talks about it. This is

(Please turn to page 14)



"On—Commandos—On!"



# FORCED MIGRATION OF POLES DURING THE WAR

(Continued from page 5)

the eastern part of the Soviet Union. The first batch of exiles were reported to have been members of the Polish intelligentsia, State and local government officials, teachers, judges, lawyers and the professional classes generally, together with a number of Jews and Ukrainians of the same classes and other middle-class people. Later, the same measure is said to have been applied on an even larger scale to Polish and even Ukrainian farmers; and deportation was not limited to the refugees from German-occupied Poland but was extended to residents of the Eastern Provinces. A White Paper presented to the United States Department of State by the Polish Embassy asserted that the total number of persons deported reached 400,000. Another source gives the number as 300,000.

The main movement from Soviet-occupied Poland to the east began in June 1941, immediately before the German invasion, and increased in volume after the invasion had begun. Hundreds of thousands of people were either forcibly removed or evacuated to inner and Asiatic Russia. Others fled as best they could from the invading German army. According to a statement issued by the Polish Foreign Minister on May 7, 1942, one and a half million persons were transferred. The Joint Distribution Committee estimates the total number of evacuees from Soviet-occupied Polish territory at two million, of whom 600,000 were Jews, these figures including those who were transferred in 1939-1940. On the basis of information collected locally, an estimate from a reliable source gives the total of refugees as 1,200,000, the detailed figures being as follows:

Transferred to:	No. of persons
Archangelsk, Vologda, Kotlas . . . . .	150,000

Molotovsk . . . . .	50,000
Saratov, Buzuluk, Tchkalovsk . . . . .	100,000
Sverdlovsk, Chelyabinsk . . . . .	50,000
Kazakhstan (Semipalatinsk) . . . . .	350,000
Omsk, Tomsk, Barnaul . . . . .	100,000
Krasnoyarsk, Kainsk . . . . .	50,000
Yakutsk, Aldana . . . . .	30,000
Uzbekistan (Tashkent) . . . . .	250,000
Southern regions . . . . .	50,000
Extreme north . . . . .	20,000

In the fall of 1941, following an agreement between the Soviet Union and the Polish Government in exile, 348,000 Poles who were in internment camps were released and allowed to join the newly formed Polish army. In 1942, 75,500 Poles crossed from Russia into Iran, where the Polish army numbered 100,000 at the beginning of 1943. According to information furnished through the American Red Cross, 37,750 civilians also found their way along the shores of the Caspian into Iran . . . One thousand five hundred Jews were evacuated to Palestine up to the end of 1942. Other Polish refugees went through Iran to India. There are 3,000 adults and some children in Karachi (Province of Sind), and 800 children have been received by the Maharanee of Nawangar. Others went to Africa. At the end of 1942 there were 7,000 Poles in Uganda and Tanganyika and 420 in Rhodesia. Up to March 1943, the total number evacuated to the British East African colonies had reached 12,000. The number of Polish refugees in Iran did not diminish by evacuation alone. Many of them joined the Polish Army and the Women's Auxiliary Corps (2,500 up to the end of 1942); many others perished (1,200 up to the end of 1942). A report of March 5, 1943, showed 12,000 Polish refugees still remaining in Iran.

## FROM THE ANNALS OF EDUCATION IN EASTERN POLAND

(Continued from page 7)

Chatelain of Cracow, Janusz Wisniowiecki and his brother Prince Michal.

At Luck, the Jesuits were presented in 1606 with four villages, twenty bags of flour a year, a mill, two taverns, etc. In return they agreed to open a school with a course in theology and to act as preachers in the Luck Cathedral and diocese. The large gifts received enabled the Academy to establish three chairs of theology and one of philosophy.

Another Catholic order to maintain schools in Eastern Poland were the Piaris. The Academies at Dabrowice and at Miedzyrzecz Korecki were known in all Poland. The latter reached a high level in the 18th century.

The Basilian Order also educated the youth of Poland. When the Jesuit Order was dissolved by Clement XIV, the Jesuit schools were closed. The National Commission of Education turned the Jesuit funds over to the Basilians with the proviso that they maintain schools. Accordingly the Basilians set up schools in Human, Kaniow, Lubarz. The one in Wlodzimierz was noteworthy. The Jesuit Academies

in Krzemieniec, Ostrog, Owruetz and Szarograd were also taken over by the Basilians.

Special mention should be made of the theological seminary in Olyka, linked with the Academy at Zamosc, that had been founded by the great statesman and scholar, Jan Zamoyski.

If one takes into consideration that all these schools, Catholic and non-Catholic alike, were founded during the most turbulent period of Poland's history, one can but wonder that so much was achieved under such adverse circumstances. Unfortunately, the Partitions at the end of the 18th century carried out by Poland's three ruthless neighbors, spelled the doom of Polish schools in Poland and particularly in Eastern Poland, where the persecution of Poles for the crime of being Polish was as systematic as it was cruel. Nevertheless, the traditions of Polish education left their mark. When reborn Poland took her rightful place in the ranks of the free nations, she turned back to these traditions for inspiration and founded new schools in Eastern Poland for all races and all creeds.

## POLISH COMMANDOS READY FOR ATTACK

(Continued from page 13)

just another manoeuvre of the countless "silent" excursions they make.

Thus Polish Commandos, by constant effort and strenuous exercise are getting ready for their future task. They have one aim: to fight. They have one motto: Attack. And it is with one eye fixed on such achievements as Dieppe and St.

Nazaire that they await eagerly their opportunity to strike. They are confident that "Their Day" is not far off.

*The cover shows a Polish paratrooper scaling a mountain on army maneuvers.*



## HUGO DIETZ WARSAW NAZI IS EXECUTED

The underground he had vowed to destroy has executed Hugo Dietz, Nazi labor boss in Warsaw.

Twenty feet from Dabrowski Square, in the heart of Warsaw, a shot rang out and Hugo Dietz fell flat on his face. His green hat rolled into the gutter. Four more shots came one after the other, as his bodyguards scurried into the nearest doorways. Hugo Dietz rolled over on his back, his mouth gaping at the sky. Two more bullets ploughed into his body—so Hugo Dietz died in the way he had sworn he never would.

The Polish underground had removed one of Adolph Hitler's most trusted terrorists in Poland.

Suppressed by the Nazis, who are desperately striving to maintain the morale of their officials in the occupied Polish zone in the face of increasing executions by the Poles, the facts of Dietz' death have just reached this country.

One of the most blustering Nazis in Poland, Dietz was responsible for the killing of countless numbers of Poles. As head of the Warsaw Arbeitsamt, the Nazi-established Labor Exchange, he had deported thousands of Polish women and children to slavery in Germany. In a campaign of unexampled ferocity, he had personally conducted the torture of helpless Nazi prisoners in an effort to force confessions of underground sabotage. He vowed to wreck the underground organization.

Dietz was sentenced to death by a Polish court set up by the Directorate of Civilian Resistance several months ago. The sentence pronounced him an "evil, rapacious creature, with no humanity left in him."

In keeping with its custom of terrorizing condemned Nazis, the underground notified Dietz that his doom was imminent. From that time onward the German never moved without bodyguards, and kept his hand constantly on a gun in his pocket, while guards suspiciously examined the faces of passersby whenever Dietz moved through the streets.

His end came as he was on his way through the Dabrowski Square section to his office on Kredytowa Street. Unnoticed in the crowd near the Marszalkowska Street trolley station, two men paced behind Dietz and his bodyguards, and behind them followed two more. As Dietz turned into Rysia Street the first shots rang out.

The underground executioners vanished into the crowd. No one, not even his bodyguards or the Nazi police, came near Dietz' body until minutes after the shooting was over.

## SWIT UNDERGROUND POLISH RADIO

*SWIT is now being heard in Washington and has been monitored regularly since October 14th. Its programs are broadcast twice daily, but reception has been poor. However, with the coming of the fall season, reception from Europe will improve and it is expected that Poland's Underground Radio will be heard more regularly.*

SWIT reports that SS instructors are training Hitler youth over fifteen in street fighting.

V.V.V.

SWIT reports some groups of Germans evacuated from the Reich have been settled near Warsaw, in Otwock and Jozefow.

V.V.V.

SWIT reports that the Directorate of Underground Fighting has carried out death sentences on four Gestapo agents who had denounced Poles.

V.V.V.

SWIT reports that during September in Bialostok, Lomza and Grodno districts the Germans arrested two hundred Poles, mainly professional men. Their fate is unknown.

V.V.V.

SWIT reports that the Warsaw railroad depot, serving as a military collecting point, German nurses sell quantities of watches and valuables stolen from dying or severely wounded soldiers.

V.V.V.

SWIT reports German propaganda attempts to convince the Poles that their fate is linked with that of Germany and that in case of German defeat "Poles will perish together with the Germans."

V.V.V.

SWIT reports that in Nowa Pilica, German police in civilian clothes accosted several Poles with a request for arms pretending they were members of the underground forces. Mass reprisals followed.

V.V.V.

SWIT reports that the Germans have executed a Polish judge of the Court of Appeals, Mieczyslaw Otto at Miechow. German soldiers also stabbed to death with a bayonet Judge Wladyslaw Miensowicz at Cracow.

V.V.V.

SWIT reports that 76 Volksdeutsche have been specially trained in Radom to discover the secrets of the Polish educational system. These agents seek to organize courses with the purpose of later denouncing all participants.

V.V.V.

SWIT tells of merciless looting of Soviet cities by retreating Germans. Among others, the Smolensk museum collections have been brought to Wilno, where Germans intend to organize an exhibition of "monuments of German culture in the Dnieper territories."

V.V.V.

SWIT, commenting on the President's address when opening the fourth term of the Polish medical school in Edinburgh, expresses gratitude to Great Britain and other countries where Poles are given a chance to study in this tragic moment of Poland's history.

V.V.V.

SWIT reports that the antagonism between Himmler and Goebbels is growing steadily. Both avoid personal meeting. Goebbels was not present at the last conference with Hitler in which Himmler participated. Hitler is alleged to have said "Goebbels fights with words, Himmler with gallows."

V.V.V.

SWIT reports that new instructions have been given to commanders of concentration camps to shoot all Polish prisoners belonging to the educated classes should the camp be attacked or have to be evacuated speedily, and to separate Polish prisoners belonging to the intelligentsia from other prisoners during roll calls.

V.V.V.

SWIT reports continuous illtreatment of Poles imprisoned in the labor camp at Fabryczna Street in Lublin. The Directorate of the Underground Fighting threatened to sentence to death S.S. camp commander Thumann, who beats the prisoners, and his assistant Andres, who personally brings Poles unable to work to the gas chamber.

V.V.V.

SWIT reports German morale in Poland is deteriorating. In Cracow alone 862 Germans have been arrested for stealing and other abuses. 21 of them were Volksdeutsche. They were imprisoned in the Montelupi Prison, with them 84 Reichsdeutsche and 38 SS men. In St. Michael's Prison there are 341 civilian Germans, 32 officials and 5 policemen. In the Ulica Kamienna prison there are 28 officers, and 120 soldiers. There are also 165 Germans in a house serving as a transit prison. They have been imprisoned for stealing German property, for to steal from Poles is not punishable.

## KOT ON FREEDOM OF RELIGION IN POLISH HISTORY

At a reception given recently for the representatives of the Church of England and Orthodox Bishop Sava, Minister of Information Kot said in part:

"Religious freedom was not just a phrase in Poland. Ever since the XIV Century various religions and confessions have lived side by side in one commonwealth. In addition to Roman Catholics in the West and Orthodox Christians in the East, we have had Armenians, Tartars and Jews. Even heathens, who were ruthlessly exterminated by the Teutonic Order, found a champion in the Polish delegate to the Council at Constance in 1415. Wlodkowic, Rector of the University in Cracow, argued that even heathens are entitled to legal protection and that conversion by force should be prohibited as should also be the seizure of their property and land under the pretext that their faith was wrong.

"At the Reformation, Poland gave asylum to all who were persecuted for their faith abroad—even Englishmen found haven in Poland. Poland was the first country to pass a law which admitted freedom of religious faith. The statute of Warsaw in 1573 differs from all religious truces of that period in that it was not adopted under pressure of a ruler, but was agreed to by the people themselves of their own free will during an interregnum. Furthermore, the statute was not a compromise between two warring camps incapable of destroying each other, but granted full religious freedom to avoid religious wars in Poland.

"When Henry of Valois, later known as Henry III of France, refused to sign this statute on his election to the throne of Poland, he was told "Si non jurabis non regnabis" (If you do not take this oath, you will not reign). From then on every king of Poland had to sign this statute before being crowned.

"Later conditions became worse as a result of the decay of Polish culture after a series of appalling wars, which fostered ignorance and fanaticism. However, enlightened leaders of the Catholic community always put a brake on excessive zeal of their co-religionists. The XVIII Century, the age of enlightenment, imprinted the principle of religious equality not only on paper but also in the minds of people. Devotion of all religious minorities to Poland and to Polish institutions is proof that they felt happy within her frontiers. Another proof of this equality is the article of the constitution of reborn Poland stipulating that the President must be Christian, irrespective of denomination."



# AMBASSADOR CIECHANOWSKI'S PULASKI DAY ADDRESS

THE war has entered its final phase. Victory is by no means around the corner, but it has become a certainty. The time is ripe for constructive thought on the subject of the future peace. Even if we are not prepared at this time to set up a detailed blueprint for a peace settlement on a world scale, it is essential and urgent at least to clear the decks by exchanging views, by eliminating differences of opinion among the United Nations, on the all important subject of the future peace.

In referring to the United Nations—I mean all the United Nations, not just the four principal Powers.

It seems to me that several reasons ought to encourage us at this stage of the war to apply ourselves to such a task. However divergent may be the views and policies of the respective nations in time of peace, they are united now by the one common aim of winning the war. This community of aim, coupled with an urge for real security, creates the most favorable basis for the planning of a peace system to ensure their collaboration in peace as the logical sequence of their collaboration in war.

In this unprecedented world conflict, we, the United Nations, have come to act collectively. Let us go one better. Let us learn to think and to plan collectively for the common good of mankind. Whatever the divergence of opinion between the United Nations may be, there can be no difference regarding the real aim for which we are fighting today. That vital aim is security. All other considerations are subordinate to this one basic aim.

The absolute necessity for security becomes more evident in war time, when security does not exist. In war time the great advantages of a collective system of security, compare favorably with narrow and selfish conceptions of security individually pursued by single nations on a regional scale.

Another reason of a psychological nature exists, for laying the foundations of peace and security while the war is still in progress: It is a remarkable paradox that the purest idealism and most noble principles must be invoked to bring nations to fight a war,—that most dreadful and inhuman thing in the world,—while history shows that selfish and cynical motives usually prevail in establishing peace,—that most natural and ideal state of human relations. It is therefore advisable to plan the peace that is to follow victory, while we are still inspired by the principles and ideals for which we are fighting.

However, one thing is essential if we are to approach the problem of peace in the right spirit of constructive statesmanship and collaboration. We must learn to think and to plan in terms of really effective security.

In 1910 Lord Haldane, then British Secretary of War, undertook his fateful mission to Kaiser Wilhelm which convinced Great Britain that Germany was preparing a first world war of aggression. That first world war was never fully won by the Allied and Associated Powers, for Germany was not completely defeated or crashed in that war but only temporarily disabled.

Then followed a twenty years' period of insecure peace, made up of idealistic principles, unsupported by realistic means for enforcing their respect. Bold statesmanship was lacking. Appeasement raised its futile head. Wishful thinking became rampant. The forces of good had disarmed,—the forces of evil were allowed to rearm. War once more became inevitable and finally broke out. And it has now lasted for four years of fighting, of untold suffering, of unprecedented cost and sacrifice in human life and happiness.

This means that since 1910, for the past thirty-three years, the world has never for one moment enjoyed real security. Events were allowed to outstrip statesmanship. As a logical consequence, statesmen have been driven by events to take palliative measures at best calculated to prolong an insecure peace rather than to reestablish durable foundations of security. Thus, statesmen have become so accustomed to plan in an atmosphere of insecurity, that they have difficulty in adjusting their mentality to the requirements of a really secure world. Planning in an atmosphere of insecurity naturally discourages bold thinking and prevents creative and final decisions.

After a war of this magnitude and after such unprecedented suffering, no just and durable peace can be conceived on the basis of timid thinking, of opportunism, of patchwork statesmanship, of attempts at precarious concepts of regional balance of power.

These two last wars, in both of which the United States has been forced to participate in defense of its own security, have taught us that in modern times no war can be localized, and that there is no possibility of isolation from conflict. Logically, it follows likewise that peace cannot be localized, that it cannot be regionally secured, that, in fact, peace and war alike are indivisible

and, therefore, collaboration on a world scale is as essential in peace time as it is inevitable in war time.

Much has been said and written about restricting the peace settlement to a close alignment of the three or four great Powers in a sort of permanent coalition for the preservation of peace. According to this theory, the so-called "small nations" would become passive satellites of the great Powers in respective spheres of special interest.

Not only is such a conception contrary to the democratic principles for which we have declared that we are fighting and which tend to regard all nations as equal before the law, equally entitled to enjoy freedom and independence and to share the responsibility of defending peace,—but, apart from these important considerations, such a system could not achieve the desired result of a just and permanent peace. It would be in fact but a somewhat revised form of the Axis conception of a "new world order," based on Power politics and conducive to imperialism.

Nothing is wider of the mark than to say that differences between small nations are responsible for wars. In the twenty years of the Versailles peace, uncertain and insecure as that period was, all conflicts or differences of opinion between the smaller States or between small States and great Powers were either solved or kept within bounds by the League of Nations, however imperfect it may have been. On the contrary, it was the great Powers, now constituting the Axis, who refused to accept the rulings of the League of Nations and are responsible for this world war. Thus, Japan violated Manchuria in 1931, Germany gradually violated all the peace clauses of the Treaty of Versailles, and withdrew from the League of Nations, whose rulings she was determined to disregard. Italy, also a great European Power and a Charter Member of the widely propagated Four Power Pact, set out on the conquest of Abyssinia regardless of League of Nations warnings and sanctions.

I would venture to say that the small nations, who suffer most in war time, have a right to expect that this time the great Powers will so adjust and settle the problems dividing them, that their differences, involving basic policies, will be eliminated from international relations as the most likely source of possible future conflicts. No safer way exists to bring this about than through collaboration of all the United Nations in a common system of security on a world scale.

It is heartening to note that there is the prospect that the close collaboration of the two great English-speaking nations in this war will continue after victory for the establishment and preservation of peace. No other way of building real world security exists, than such collaboration between the two great Western Democracies. The alignment of the United States with Great Britain for peace is in fact the only real, tangible basis of world security. Such a British-American Association assures the active collaboration of the two most powerful navies, of the two most powerful and most modern armies, of the two most powerful and most modern airforces in the world. It groups together the greatest number of the most effective sea and air bases scattered the world over. It eliminates all conflicting problems existing between these two greatest world Powers by uniting them in permanent collaboration as the soundest basis of the system of world security.

With such a basis of world security it would probably never be actually necessary to use force. It would be in the direct interest of all peaceful nations to adhere to such a coalition and to support it actively. No imperialist Power could afford to oppose it. To the great aims expressed in the Atlantic Charter and in the President's conception of the Four Freedoms, it would add the realism indispensable to their practical application.

\* \* \*

This war is a mortal conflict between the forces of good and evil. We know now that the forces of good are assured of victory. If they are powerful enough to win the war, they surely are powerful enough and bold enough to introduce a certain indispensable degree of idealism and respect for human principles in building the peace. It simply means that realism which has convinced us all that security is the only aim for which we are fighting, must be blended with the principles of basic justice for all nations and all peoples, regardless of their size.

Only real security on a world scale, based upon the close permanent collaboration of the United States and Great Britain, will inevitably draw other Powers and all smaller nations into a system of United Nations collaboration. Only such a system of world security, founded on permanent international collaboration, can eliminate the tendency of some of the great Powers to seek the establishment of their individual security by means of territorial annexations, conducive to conflict and contrary to the principles of the United Nations concept.